• 778

[For information on the invocation by an individual of 'ar--a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request--in order to seek asylum or sanctuary, see categories 571 and 754.]

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
[233] flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
172 at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig- [478] guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con- 634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular 619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at [342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
781 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

• 778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [132] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619
184
101
634

The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

361
101
634
619
[776]
[778]

133
101
634

The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 101 634 619 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws, Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by the ikhs of the Ichiyyaan. It is the one that installed the people of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Abdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ajj Bujma u Abderrah'man, from Talaint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 101 634 [137] The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

• 778 [792]

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

[241] Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the 634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the 175 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a 726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied 619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bulᶜwân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619 2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'ʿâr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173] A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
● [778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 794 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 31 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uŝziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^2. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and [794] exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly [823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech- [778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they [794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 [173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/235/

Third Part
Institutions and Values

000 /Page 236 is blank./

/237/ ## Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

778 /237 cont./
776 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882: "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
791 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
796 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of
[184] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 716 823 "/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

/250 cont./

823 771 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more profound than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations between the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of agricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in authenticity.

82 782 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and, inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to powers, most often without a name. The force released by the oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places or at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran," turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are accommodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints 823 782 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni. But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere 778 823 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz. A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

1. The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[178] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 (634) The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000
778
794
212

by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778
[776]

In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/255 cont./

778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqa, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

778 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a non-
776 figurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

/256 cont./

778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here. [128]

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait Abdella]

221
241
716
718
782
796

Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ança len.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
	Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
	The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

776 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques,
798 one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

221 241 776 778 782 796

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Summer.
		The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallâh.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
776	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."
		Sidi Tifawt.	
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."

Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight! [162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggâhi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 798 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, i. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibûban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

799 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications
"A National Saint;"
Lalla Aziza

776
[533]
[333]

When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[114]

[121]

Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133

Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That

• 778

is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825] [171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tiz[illegible]z'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a wal[illegible] tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piec[illegible] of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Aissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/283 cont./

776 778 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two [823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 778 346 764 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It contains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots, luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes [784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqqura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to [778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
794 cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
423 no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

778
776
794

/287 cont./
Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of Bu^{c}anfir in Ud Besseba^{c} used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom [791] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

/298 cont./

175 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the
776 critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[994] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla
[998] Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 [778] [634] Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 794 [778] of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that [796] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

115 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late 770 794 428 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/313 cont./

792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ [794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such [691] an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the igʷrramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear
781 here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

/317 cont./

787 538 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-ᶜAynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then 778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee 776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./

778 name. Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776
114 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 798 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and [602] nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/339 cont./

613 671 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/ procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 [796] Each year, at the feast of the Mīlād, young men and young women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that [776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her [778] baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals." [582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
619 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

1: Berque--646 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

103
133
312
172
346
423
778

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

241
291
516
798

(Cl. L. Berque)

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
798
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. XIII

133

The a. Lh'sen high country

C. L. Berque

[798] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787

Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med .. Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profound-
[346] ly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
•[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

*631 619 175 • [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected [554] [613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social [212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a [755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets [358] [574] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity [185] by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the [241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for [245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when [624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778] [787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, [423] the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
174 intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
789 the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
184 consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*631 so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
619 things (4),

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
• [798] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
178 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/251 cont./

443
625
685

/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443
634
554
692
685

443
*634
792
784

It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2).

[778]

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

/304 cont./

175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the A'lt Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.
726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
[727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the A'lt Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "A'lt Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "A'lt [727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the A'lt Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
798

/305 cont./

175 159 *634 554 [778] [648] [616] them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it, he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without combat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

[729]

175 159 *634 648 *631 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sultan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic cleverness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113)

1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 •[1078] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/407 cont./

792 795 *631 648 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 795 *631 554 [778] [788] Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority belongs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 792 795 *631 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid" Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 795 *631 171 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli, master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent